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142 Of the Choroti among whom I carried out my investigations, the men

appeared to be fairly tall of stature,[1] figs. 16—19, 30, whilst the height of the women was remarkably small, figs. 19—22, 30. I took height measurements of ten men and thirteen women, but as the table got lost during the expedition, I am not able to give the maximum and minimum measurements. But I have the computed average heights preserved in my diary, and they are 170 cm for the men, and 152 cm for the women. The height measurements at a later date made of Choroti (who had come to look for work at sugar plantations in Argentina) by Lehmann-Nitsche show an average height of 161.6 for men (aver. of 20 individuals), and for women 155.3 (10 individuals). That Lehmann-Nitsche and I arrived at such appreciably divergent results is because our measurements were taken of so small a number of people. Lehmann-Nitsche having, however, measured twice as many males as I, it may be presumed that the average height obtained by him more nearly approaches the true average for the men of the tribe than does the result obtained through my measurements.

Fig. 15. Spectacle-cayman (Caiman sclerops). Camp at Tatarenda. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[304] The shape of the skull is predominantly dolichocephalic, and shows no traces of artificial deformation.[2] The men, as well as the women, are, as a rule, strongly and proportionately built, although in some individuals the breast is flat and the belly rather big (figs. 17, 37), the latter no doubt resulting from the fact that the Choroti largely subsist on roots and fruits, a kind of diet usually producing distension of the stomach. As an example, in the rural districts of Europe it is no rare thing to come across persons, especially children, who, from a too-protracted diet of potatoes, have developed a distended stomach, a so-called »potato belly».

[1] That also among the Indians of the eastern part of the Chaco tall individuals are found, is evident from the following statement by Professor Carl Lindman: »Those Indians whom I saw along the Paraguay, opposite Asuncion and northwards, were to a large extent muscular and well built, some, even, were very tall of body and athletic looking.» Lindman (1), p. 72.

[2] These items of information have been supplied me by Professor Gustav Retzius, who has examined the Choroti skulls brought home by our expedition.

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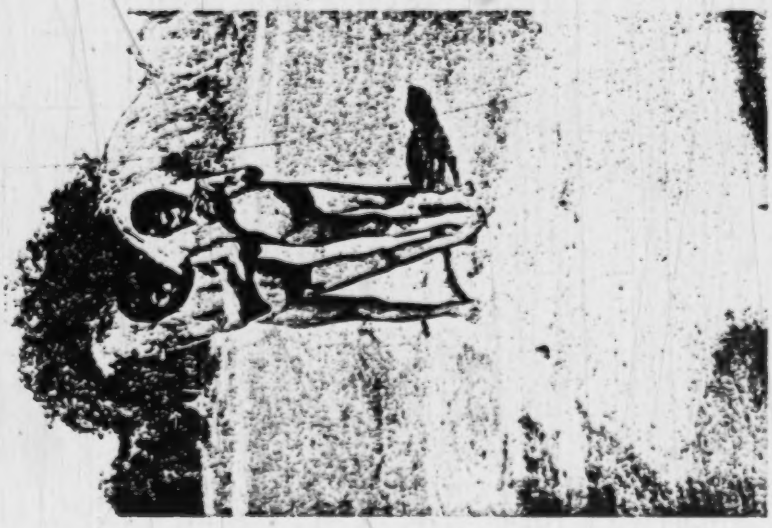

Fig. 23. A boy and a girl (probably about 7 and 8 years old). Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 24. A woman, with infant. Note that the woman's ear-lobes are pierced, but that she is wearing no ear-lobe discs. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[p. 42 is blank]

292 302 feathers, tied inside a woven or plaited fillet, usually no more than a centimetre wide, of coarse caraguatá, or woollen-yarn (fig. 45).

And it is also principally at dances that the men of the Choroti wear a sort of knitted skullcaps of woollen-yarn, net-like, and with a chin strap.

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Fig. 39. A man with a woven frontlet of wool (greyish-white and brownish-black), and ear-lobe discs of wood. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

531 These hair-nets are often studded with snail-shell spangles (fig. 46), or the chin straps decorated with down (fig. 47). With the magic character of these and other ornaments from the Chorotis, I shall deal in a later chapter.

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translated »big ears» — an appellation subsequently transferred to all such tribes within, or in the neighbourhood of, the Inca kingdom, among whom the wearing of ear-lobe discs was customary.

In our days, the practice of wearing ear-lobe discs is met with among a number of tribes distributed over the whole of that part of South America which lies to the north of the tropic of Capricorn.[1] On the Chaco, ear-lobe discs are extensively worn by the Choroti, Lengua[2] and Ashluslay, and are also found among some of the Mataco and Toba Indians.[3] Also in North America the custom of wearing ear-lobe discs, or blocks, appears to be very ancient.[4] The wearing of this kind of ear discs is, however, not limited to America, but is also found, among other places, in Central Africa.[5]

Fig. 52. Brush-like ornament of false hair, for wearing pushed in under the frontlet. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. [6] n. Riksm. 03. 3. 65.

Among the Choroti, all the men and youths have their ear-lobes pierced, and in the holes they wear discs (see for instance figs. 17, 30, 39, 53). These discs were almost always used for everyday wear, and invariably on state occasions. It very seldom happened that I saw a Choroti man without his ear-discs. Latterly, the practice of wearing ear-lobe discs has, in the same way as other old customs once prevalent among the Choroti, become less common, and nowadays it seems that the Choroti, for everyday use at least, often appear without their discs. The piercing of the ear-lobes is performed with a bone awl, or cactus spine, already during boyhood, but I did not see any boys under puberty age wearing discs. Neither is there anything in the literature indicating that Choroti boys put on ear discs before that age.[6]

But, on the other hand, immediately on having had their ear-lobes pierced, the Choroti children take to wearing bits of grass, or very slender

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), map 18.
[2] Koch (1), p. 218, and Hawtrey (1), p. 283.
[3] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 122.
[4] See for instance Moore (2), p. 282.
[5] von Rosen (4), plate 7, fig. A, and von Rosen (7), p. 124.
[6] When it has been stated that the wearing of ear-lobe discs has nothing to do with pubescence [Nordenskiöld (13), p. 68], this is correct only in so far as the ear discs of the Choroti, like the tembeta of the Chiriguano, may, perhaps, first and foremost be attributed with a magical significance, and that their character of being symbols of puberty is only a secondary one. Cf. Karsten (4), p. 155.

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sticks, in the holes that have been made, in order to keep them from closing up. After the healing of the wound, these plugs are, however taken out, and it is only when the boys have reached the age of puberty, that the ear-lobe is gradually distended by means of plugging with a succession of ear blocks, or ear-lobe discs, of increasing sizes. Only youths of mature age, and men, are allowed to take part in certain religious dances. At the performance of these, it is of especial importance to be protected from evil spirits. According to the belief of the Indians, ear discs afford them such protection,[1] and it is therefore possible that this is the reason why the boys begin wearing ear discs only after having attained puberty. For reasons which I shall explain below, I consider that the *piercing of the ear-lobes by no means always implies wearing of ear-lobe discs*. Among the Choroti, the ears of little girls are often pierced in the same way as in the case of the boys[2] (see the woman with pierced ear-lobes in fig. 22), *but never once did I see a Choroti woman wearing discs in her ears*, nor is there in the literature on these Indians any photographic evidence to be found, as far as I know, of Choroti women wearing ear discs. Further, neither Baron Erland Nordenskiöld,[3] nor Doctor Rafael Karsten, both explorers who have lived for a long time among the Choroti, are now able to recollect with any certainty having seen any Choroti woman wearing ear discs.

To cause bleeding by perforating the skin, has among the Chorotis, as among other tribes in the Chaco — a magic significance, and the possession of many scars is considered a great advantage. Thus, for instance, the Chaco Indians will with ostentation and satisfaction show even scars from bites of the palometa fish. When the Choroti believe themselves possessed by some evil spirit, they prick themselves with sharp-pointed bone awls, and imagine that the spirit leaves the body with the outflowing blood. About this custom, Karsten writes: »If the arm fails or trembles in pulling the bow, its weakness is, according to the belief of the Chorotis, due to the presence of a mohsek in the blood and they think that the evil demon will leave the body with the blood drawn. The scars left by the cuts are kept up with care and shown with satisfaction,

[1] Karsten (4), p. 134, and Grubb (1), p. 72.

[2] Nordenskiöld observed in a Choroti village that *all* the girls had their ears pierced. According to a letter of his, dated 13 May, 1921. Rockefeller collection of manuscripts, volume 1921, letter N.

[3] According to letter referred to in footnote 2.

9 L should be Choroti. - Amby ed.

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almost with pride. *Evidently it is thought that the very scars afterwards act as a sort of charm against the spirits.*'[1]

If scars left by wounds are considered to possess desirable, magical properties, it would easily be supposed that perforations that have been kept open must possess the same properties in a greatly enhanced degree. Among the Chiriguano, neighbours of the Choroti, the actual piercing of the lower lip constituted the most important of the ceremonial acts performed on the boys on their having attained puberty, and among the Chané — whose culture is akin to that of the Chiriguano — not only was the lower lip pierced on this occasion, but the boys were also given other wounds on the body.[2]

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From what I have adduced above, it will therefore be seen that, according to the belief of the Indians, *the making of punctures or perforations on the body, has in itself magic effects, and, consequently, that these magic effects are not believed to arise with the fixing of some ornamental object of magical character — e. g., a tembeta, or an ear disc — into the perforation.*

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This being so, here, in my opinion, lies the explanation of the fact that Choroti girls sometimes have pierced ear-lobes, although it has never *with certainty* been shown that they ever wear ear discs. On the other hand, from reasons I shall present below, it is *probable* that old Choroti women, with distended ear-lobes, *exceptionally* do wear ear discs.

I myself, as well as other investigators of the Chaco peoples, have seen elderly women among the Choroti with holes in their ears so large that one was forced to suppose that the lobes had been stretched in some way or other. Such stretching, however, may not *necessarily* be due to the wearing of ear blocks, but *may* have been produced by manual manipulation. That, by such means, perfectly monstrous distension of the soft parts of the body can very well be brought about, is proved by, among other things, the practice of the Hottentot women of lengthening out — merely by frequent pulling — the labia minora into an enormous size.[3] A similar stretching of the hole in the ear-lobe might, from the Indians' point of view, have for its object the increasing, proportionately to its size, the magic properties of the hole. Among the Incas, the size

[1] Karsten (4), p. 157. Italics by von Rosen.
[2] Karsten (4), p. 200.
[3] von Luschan (1); p. 378.

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of the hole in the ear-lobe was probably an important matter, a point noticed also by Karsten, who writes on this subject: »Of all marks of honour which they received at this initiation, *the holes* in the ear-lobes were the most important. The Inca himself pierced the ears of the young princes with big golden pins, which afterwards were left in the wounds *in order to make the holes larger.*»[1]

For reasons which here follow, I can, however, quite well imagine that exceptions might be made from the rule that ear discs may not be worn by women. Karsten states his observation that women, as a rule, take no part in religious ceremonies, incantations or dances, but adds: »There are exceptions to this rule, and just as elderly women, who have been properly initiated, may perform certain religious ceremonies of their own, so may they also occasionally take an active part in certain religious dances.»[2]

Bearing in mind the fact that ornaments of magical character have their specific uses at dances and other religious ceremonies, and also that ear blocks, as we have seen, are looked upon by the Choroti Indians as means of protection against evil spirits, I do not find it improbable that *elderly women, who have been initiated in magic ritual, on certain occasions may wish to strengthen their power to resist evil spirits by enlarging, as do the men, the holes in their ear lobes by putting in blocks, or discs.*[3]

Among another Chaco tribe, the Toba Takshik, Dr Lehmann-Nitsche has observed that a certain distinctive attribute, which as a rule is exclusively meant for the one sex, may, in rare and exceptional cases, be assumed by the other. Lehmann-Nitsche tells of a man who had been given the tattooing especially distinguishing women, but points out that this must have been an extremely rare case, seeing that it greatly astonished even the interpreter, and suggests the possibility of the man not being considered an »homme normal».[4] It is noteworthy that the tattooing in question, described and reproduced by Lehmann-Nitsche, is practically identical with a tattooing design that adorned a Choroti *man* (see fig. 66).

[1] Karsten (4), p. 136. Italics by von Rosen.

[2] Karsten (1), p. 2.

[3] Fig. 30 in »Indianlif» (Nordenskiöld (13) shows a redoubtable old Choroti woman, who had executed the tattooing Nordenskiöld had done on himself. This old woman's ear-lobes are enormously distended.

[4] Lehmann-Nitsche (3), pp. 15 and 16.

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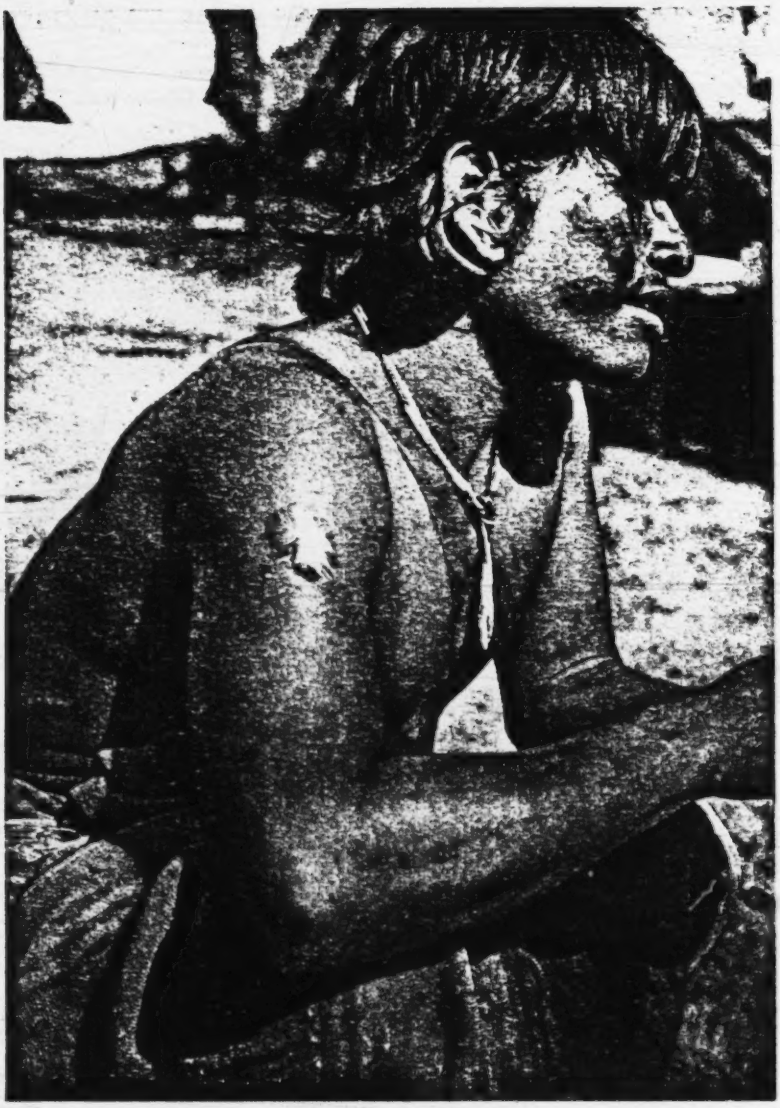

Fig. 53. A man with ear-lobe discs, set with pieces of tin. On his right upper arm is seen the scar from the terrible bite of a palometa fish (Serrosalmo sp.). Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

291 [177] The women of the Choroti, especially the younger ones, have very generally adopted the woman's garment common among the Chiriguano, which is called »tipoy» and consists of a cloak-like covering hanging from the shoulders, where it is secured with cactus spines (fig. 62). The cloth forming the material of these tipoys, is an acquisition by the Choroti from the whites. I saw Choroti girls that had not troubled to sew their tipoys together, but thought it sufficient to pin the edges together with cactus spines down one side. Occasionally the girls wore the tipoy from the hips, as seen in fig. 61. The original garb of the Choroti women consists of a deer skin, or a length of home-woven woollen cloth wrapped round the hips (fig. 21), leaving bare the upper part of the body. Nowadays one only sees elderly women dressed in this way.

301 Contrasted with the men, the women have very few, and very unpretentious, ornaments. The girls wear a necklace or two, made from glass beads or porcelain buttons (fig. 61 and 62), and lizard-skin finger rings. Now and again one may see a woman with armlets, or finger rings, consisting of threaded glass beads, pieces of leather or palm leaf (fig. 62, the girl on the extreme right, and fig. 152).

302 304 The practice of decorating the face by tattooing and painting is common to both sexes. The men, however, are not always tattooed, which, on the other hand, is the case with the women. Painting of the face, which may safely be assumed to possess magic significance,[1] is performed by men as well as women on all important occasions.

304 Whilst[1] it is the prerogative of the men to adorn themselves with the showier ornaments, it is generally the women who display the more abundant tattooing (cf. figs. 63—66 and 71—76). The tattoo marks that a fully grown Choroti woman wears on her face, have not been worked on her all at the same time, but during different phases of her life as she grows up. According to Nordenskiöld, the Choroti begin tattooing their children already when the latter have reached an age of from 5 to 7 years,[2] and thenceforth various designs are added as the years pass. As a rule, the men are not tattooed, or they may have just a few tattoo marks (fig. 63), and it is exceptional to see Choroti men as profusely tattooed as the men in figs. 64—66.[3] As I have already pointed

[1] See Chap. XII.

[2] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 68.

[3] Compare, with this for instance, Lehmann-Nitsche (1), pp. 80 and 81, and Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 69 and 70.

[text continues on p. 75]

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out, the tattooing reproduced in the last-mentioned diagram is almost identical with the face-tattooing on a Takshik man reproduced by Lehmann-Nitsche.[1] 304

Only grown women are plentifully tattooed, and a tattooing like the one reproduced in fig. 73 is *never found on any woman under marriageable age*. Just as with us the girls are not at once given long skirts to wear, but only by degrees, so the girls of the Choroti with the passing of the years are given additional tattooing, until, having grown into mature women, their face-ornamentation is complete.

With many Chaco tribes, tattooing is probably as a rule a puberty [171] sign of a magic character, especially set apart for the women. Among the Ashluslay, only the women are tattooed,[2] and, according to Karsten, the women of the Ashluslay on the lower reaches of the Pilcomayo are tattooed as they enter upon puberty.[3] Among the Toba, only the women are as a rule tattooed.[4]

The tattooing is generally performed with cactus spines (fig. 77), but exceedingly sharp-pointed bone awls (figs. 81 and 88, c) are also used. The latter are often wound with woollen yarn, leaving only a few millimetres from the point, so as not to penetrate unnecessarily deep into the skin (figs. 185 and 186). These wool wound bone awls are, however, primarily intended for being used in a peculiar kind of blood-letting, to which I shall again refer in connexion with the magic practices of the Choroti. The most practical way in which to perform tattooing is undoubtedly by using a small bunch of Cactus spines, for then several punctures result from each stab. On the only occasion when I saw tattooing being performed, the puncturing was made with bone awls, it is true, but that may possibly have been owing to there being no cactus spines handy. Other investigators, who have spent longer time than myself among the Choroti, only mention cactus spines as puncturing instruments in tattooing.

Tattooing is performed in the following way: With saliva strongly mixed with soot, the tattooing artist (often an elderly woman), by means of a small stick outlines the desired pattern on the face of the person who is to be tattooed, whereupon the tattooer stabs at the sketched

[1] Lehmann-Nitsche (3), p. 16.

[2] According to Nordenskiöld, the Ashluslay girls receive their first tattoo marks at the age of about 5 to 7 years, Nordenskiöld (13), p. 68.

[3] Karsten (4), p. 34. Cfr. also what Karsten says about tattooing, pp. 330—333.

[4] Lehmann-Nitsche (3), p. 16.

[5] *v. Rosen*. II.

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Fig. 63. Fig. 64. Fig. 65. Fig. 66.

Figs. 63—66. Tattooing on men. From author's sketches.

Fig. 67. Fig. 68. Fig. 69. Fig. 70.

Figs. 67—70. Face-paintings on untattooed men. Figs. 67 and 68 in red; fg. 69 in Black; fg. 70 in Black and red (the lines at the root and ridge, of the nose are black, the rest are red. Chorote. Gran Chaco Bolivia. From author's sketches.

304 pattern with the cactus needles, or bone awl, until beads of blood appear, when the soot-mingled saliva is rubbed into the punctures. After healing, the tattoo marks assume a bluish colour.

302 At dances, lovers' meetings, and other important occasions, men and women paint their faces (figs. 62, 67—70 and 74—76). Face-painting may be done either in red (figs. 67—68 and 74—76) or in black (fig.

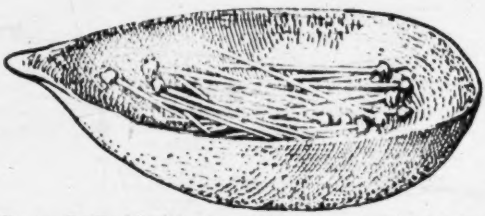

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Fig. 77. Small calabash bowl containing cactus spines for tattooing. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 87.

Fig. 78. Red paint, ready prepared for face-painting. This lump of paint, which is wrapped in a sheath of palm leaf, may possibly have reached the Choroti by barter from the Chiriguano. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 104.

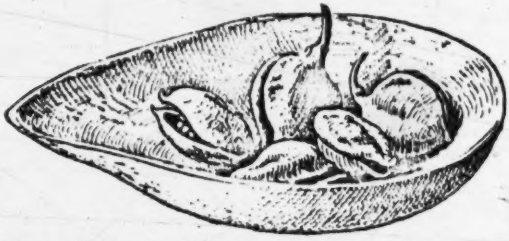

Fig. 79. Small calabash bowl containing fruits of Bixa orellana. From the seeds of these fruits colour is prepared for face-painting. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 103.

Fig. 80. Miniature bowl of wood, holding colour seeds. The bowl and the seeds have possibly been obtained by the Choroti through barter with the Chiriguano. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 180.

69), or in both red and black (fig. 70). Painting the face in red is commonest. The black paint consists of soot and saliva, whilst the red colour (fig. 78) is prepared from seeds of Bixa Orellana (fig. 79). These seeds are usually obtained by barter from the Chiriguano, and are carefully kept by the Choroti in small calabashes. I have also seen miniature wooden bowls (fig. 80) used as receptacles for these colouring seeds after they have been taken out of the follicle.[1] The soot is usually kept in a

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[1] Owing to a mistake having occurred as to the identity of seeds, in my first treatise on the Choroti I have erroneously stated that the red paint used in face-painting is made from the seeds of Caesalpina melanocarpa.

302 bamboo holder, 10 to 15 cm long, and 1 to 2 cm in diameter. The bottom of this cylinder consists of a joint in the bamboo, and for its mouth there is a stopper of wool, grass, bast or bees-wax.

[291] In painting the face, the paint is put on with small stamps, which either consist of the jaw-bone of a siluroid (figs. 81, 88 b) or of a piece of carved wood (fig. 82).

[531] Flat wooden stamps with diamond pattern are also used.[1] Those interesting stamps that are made from jaw-bones of fishes, are undoubtedly the prototype of the wooden stamps.

Fig. 81. Jaw-bone of a siluroid. The row of teeth is used as a stamp for putting on the paint in face-painting. The fore-end of the bone is sharpened to a point, so that this object can also be used in tattooing and blood-letting. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 100.

Fig. 82. Paint stamp made of a cane splinter. Is used in the same way as the fish jaw in fig. 81. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 03. 3. 94.

[304] For cutting off the hair to the desired length (figs. 16—24, 30, 39, 53 and 83), the Choroti use the jaw of the palometa fish, which is set with exceedingly sharp teeth (fig. 84).[2] These are also used as louse-combs, although the Choroti as a rule carry on their louse-hunting only by the means that nature has provided them with. It is possible that once upon a time palometa jaws formed the only combs that the Choroti possessed, but that they afterwards went out of fashion when the more practical wooden or split-cane combs came into use. Of the latter, we may take it that the split-cane combs are the

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Fig. 83. A man with hair hanging loose. Choroti. Gran Chaco Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

Fig. 84. Jaw of palometa fish (Serrosalmo sp.), used for hair-cutting. Also said to be a louse-comb. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/1. Riksm. 10. 3. 29.

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), fig. 42.

[2] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 100.

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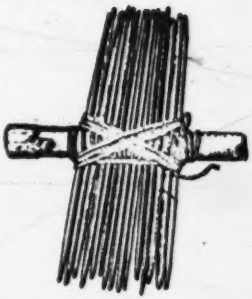

Fig. 85. Split-cane comb. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 74.

Fig. 86. Wooden comb, carved in one piece. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 70.

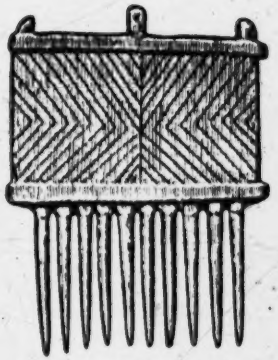

Fig. 87. Wooden comb, carved in one piece; the handle carved on both sides into angular ornament. Choroti. (This comb may possibly have been made among the Chiriguano.) Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 10. 3. 38.

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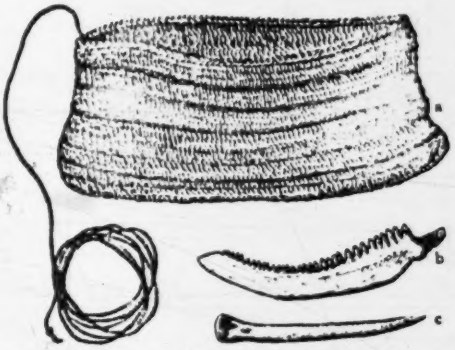

Fig. 88. Miniature bag (a) of undyed (greyish-white), brown, yellow, and black caraguatá fibre. When the author obtained the bag, it contained a stamp for face-painting (b) and a small bone awl for tattooing and blood-letting (c). Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 101.

older cultural element. The split-cane comb in fig. 85 consists of a piece of cane, about 7.2 cm long, into which a split has been made from one end, so that only 2 cm of the other end of the cane are left intact. The insides of the two legs forming this crotch have been pared down so that the space between the legs of the crotch equals the thickness of the comb teeth at their middle, i. e., in this case about 4 mm. In the fork of this crotch the teeth, 1 to 2 mm thick, have been placed and secured by tying, with their flat sides together. This class of Choroti combs are generally of a construction differing somewhat from the one described, in that the cane has not been split from one of the ends in order to afford room for the teeth, but, instead, there is usually in the middle of it a recess, into which the teeth are fixed in the way I have described.

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172 Particulars of the objects in question are given in the table here below:

Objects painted all over with red paint, found by the author in ancient Indian graves at Casabindo, Puna de Jujuy, Argentina.

Rikem. coll. No.	Class of object	No. of fig. in von Rosen (10)	No. of page on which object is mentioned in von Rosen (10)
03. 3. 6797	Long handled spoon	—	38
03. 3. 6836	Pointed stick	53	37
03. 3. 6809	Distaff	—	31
03. 3. 6819	Small club (fish club?)	42	34
03. 3. 6833	» » » »	41	33
03. 3. 6820	Wooden knife	39	38
03. 3. 6871	Miniature bow	45	34
03. 3. 6873	Fragments of arrow shaft	-	35
03. 3. 6821	Mesh-spacer	39	33

304 751 On page 72 et seq., I have already described the manner in which the Choroti tattoo themselves, and also pointed out that this tattooing is of a magical character whilst at the same time this practice, like the painting of the face, is to a certain extent connected with the sexual life of the Indians. It is highly probable that not only the painting, but also the tattooing, of the face among the Choroti is done in order to prevent evil spirits from entering the body by way of eyes, nose, mouth and ears.[1] The arrow-like signs that sometimes are found as ornament done in tattooing or painting among the Chaco Indians (see for instance fig. 66), are, according to Karsten, in some way connected with the circumstance that the spirit of illness, called »mohsek ihitek» (i. e., the arrow-shooting mohsek) uses arrows for working harm upon people, for which reason arrows may be considered as amulets.[2] This, the Indians' way of looking at things, corresponds to the old saw: »like cures like», or »taking a hair from the dog that bit one».

531 751 Figures and ornamental signs, incised or burned-in, on calabashes for household use (figs. 127, 129—132) as well as on magic rattles of calabash (figs. 170 and 181), are, at least in certain cases, to be regarded as magical protective devices against evil spirits.[3] The significance of two figures, resembling human beings, carved on the magic rattle in fig. 181.

[1] Karsten (4), pp. 8 and 10.
[2] Karsten (4), pp. 196 and 191.
[3] Karsten (3), p. 179.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

826 that the hair in certain magic rites could represent the person from whom it had been taken.[1] We find a similar belief existent among the Choroti who, because of it, carefully burn the hairs that they cut off or pluck out. They also believe that the souls of the dead, as well as evil spirits, are [764] capable of working harm on the living by means of the hair, and on this belief is based the custom of the Choroti women of cutting off this adornment on the death of their husbands.[2] Similarly, the practice universally prevalent among the Choroti of plucking out eyebrows, eyelashes and other hairs of the face, the hairs of the armpits and about the genital parts, is probably due to this belief.[3] When a Choroti Indian takes a scalp, or fixes the scalp lock of a slain foe under his frontlet (see pp. 60, 61 and 103), it is probable that he considers that he has not only succeeded in obtaining a material trophy, but that the possession of the scalp or scalp lock to some certain extent confers upon him power over the spirit of his fallen adversary.[4]

[727]

[412]

Fig. 185. Bone awl for blood-letting. Probably made out of an ulna of a puma. The awl is wrapped round with a red, woollen fillet, to prevent it from penetrating too deeply into the muscles. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 82.

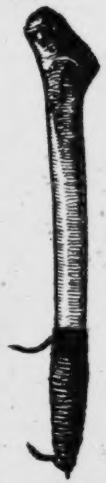

Fig. 186. Bone awl for blood-letting; also used for tattooing. Probably made from an ulna of a raptorial bird. The awl is wrapped round with grey and red woollen yarn (the latter nethermost) so as not to enter too deeply into the flesh. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 83.

304 412

In the foregoing (pp. 63 and 75) I have mentioned that the Choroti on certain occasions perform a kind of magic blood-letting by means of bone awls. I have also given an account of the Indian conception of the effects of this kind of blood-letting (see pp. 63 and 64). I will now add that I think it probable that the *material* of which the awl consists also plays a certain part.

Nordenskiöld has observed that the Ashluslay, when they are out looking for nests of wild bees, prick themselves above the eyes with a

[1] Even as early as in the Wærend law, mention is made of hair being used in witchcraft.
[2] See page 182.
[3] Karsten (4), p. 10.
[4] Cf. Karsten (4), p. 60.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

wooden awl, so that blood flows.[1] In reply to my question, Nordenskiöld has been kind enough to tell me that he never saw the Indians using awls of any other material than wood for this purpose. On the other hand, both he and I, and other Chaco students, have seen Choroti pricking themselves with bone awls (figs. 185 and 186) when feeling tired. In order to ascertain whether the Indians in making their bone awls gave preference to any particular bone of any particular animal, I asked Professor Lönnberg to try and identify the animals from which the material had been taken for all the bone awls in my collection. Professor Lönnberg very kindly acceded to my request, and here below I give the result of his investigation.[2]

Awl No. 03. 3. 183. Upper part of right ulna of a large feline animal, probably a female puma.
» » 03. 3. 82. » » » left » » » feline animal, probably a young puma.
» » 03. 3. 181. » » » » » » » » (somewhat smaller than the foregoing).
» » 03. 3. 84. Lower part of canon bone of small ruminant (deer calf?).
» » 03. 3. 184. » » » » » » » »
» » 03. 3. 185. » » » » » » » »
» » 03. 3. 83. Probably a fragment of ulna of a bird (raptorial?)
» » 03. 3. 186. » » » » » » » » of a species somewhat smaller than the foregoing.

The remainder of the bone awls that were submitted by me to Professor Lönnberg consisted of fragments, impossible of determination.

Unquestionably, it must strike one as peculiar that out of eight determinable pieces of bone, three of them probably consist of ulnæ of such a ferocious animal as the puma (the killing of which to the Indians is a matter of deadly peril). Another thing, which is in my opinion noteworthy, is that two of the awls probably consist of ulnæ of raptorial birds, and that the three remaining ones all consist of canon bones of some species of small ruminant. In fig. 81 I have reproduced an awl consisting of the jawbone of a Siluroid: this implement, however, at the same time being a kind of stamp for applying red paint to the face. Whilst paying a visit to the Gothenburg Museum, I was, by the courtesy of the Keeper of Ethnography, Baron Nordenskiöld, given the opportunity of going through the collection of bone awls that he has acquired from Indians of the Chaco, which collection now forms part of the Museum. On examining

[1] Nordenskiöld (18), p. 49.

[2] In accordance with letters dated July 2 and 18, respectively. Rockefeller collection of Manuscripts, Volume 1921, letter I.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

XVII.

Objects for deforming the Body.

The Chaco tribes here dealt with wear no labrets, do not bore through the nasal septum, do not deform the head, and do not strap their calves in an unnatural way. The (1) Choroti, (2) Ashluslay and some (9C) Mataco Indians (Mataco-Guisnay), however, bore the flap of the ear, all the men, and some of the women, wearing blocks of wood or pieces of cane in, it so that the flap surrounds the objects like the tyre of a bicycle wheel.

Ear appendages (Map 18) of the kind here in question are not worn by any other Indian tribe I visited. Some of the Toba (X 8) wear them, but I did not visit this section. Several of the tribes known to me, however, wear rings, small blocks of wood or teeth etc. in their ears.

The custom of forcing the flap of the ear round a block of wood or the like, was universal in old (18) Peru[1]). The Indian chiefs in the Inca kingdom, who wore these ear-blocks, were called «orejones» by the Spaniards. Numerous ear appendages of this kind[2]), as well as earthenware vessels with figures of Indians thus adorned[3]), have been found on the Peruvian coast (A, K). For the rest, they are found in Brazil among the Botocudo (45)[4]), among the (67) Suyá[5]),-

[1]) Cobo, Vol. 4, p. 159.
[2]) Barbelier, Pl. 27, fig. 399—403; Riehs and Strübel, Vol. 3, Pl. 78.
[3]) Also in (J) Tiahuanaco. Posnansky.
[4]) Wied, Vol. 2, p. 5.
[5]) v. d. Steinen (2), p. 207.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

XVIII.

Tattooing (Map 19).

We distinguish between two kinds of tattooing, scar-tattooing and ordinary tattooing of incisions filled with colour.

It is only the latter kind that is practised in the Chaco.

In many parts of S. America the Indians paint their skins with the cauterising juice of the »Genipa» fruit.

This colour, which is bluish violet, lasts for several days, and it is probable that travellers have sometimes mistaken Genipa-painting for tattooing.

I have seen real tattooing among the (2) Ashlulay, (1) Choroti, (6) Mataco, (7) Toba[1]), (3) Tapiete and (4) Chiriguano[2]), i. e., wherever genipa is wanting.

In the whole of N.E. Bolivia and the adjoining districts of Peru and Brazil I have seen no tattooed Indians.

As far as I know, painting the face and body with genipa is practised by the Yuracáre, Huanyam, Pauserna, Cavina, Atsahuaca and Tuyoneiri. Among no tribe have I seen both real tattooing (puncture tattooing) and genipa painting.

PATER SCHMIDT[3]) speaks of tattooing among these tribes, in addition to those mentioned above: Indians on the Peruvian coast, (V 6) Caraques (Ecuador), (7 x) Cueva[4]), (8 x) Warrau (55) True Caribs, (48) Desana, (9 x) Passé

[1]) See also DIXEY, p. 10.
[2]) Very rarely.
[3]) p. 1084.
[4]) Wrongly marked on Pater SCHMIDTS map.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 S17 Mataco S17
Toba SI 12
Choroti SK6

CHAPTER II.

General characteristics and material culture.

C M 141 142 In their physical characteristics the *Choroti* and the *Mataco* show the same affinity as appears in their languages. Both of them are strongly built and of middle height, the Mataco somewhat taller than the Choroti. The average height of the former seems to be about 163 or 164 cm. for the men and 154 or 155 cm. for the women; of the latter about 162 or 163 cm. for the men and 152 or 153 cm. for the women. In their sturdy appearance M [174] the Mataco resemble the mountain Indians, and in former times there has probably been intermarriage between them and the Quichuas. The hair of both tribes is black, coarse and straggling and is worn long by both men and women, except when it is temporarily cut short for ceremonial reasons. The eyes are dark-brown, the nose somewhat flattened, and the features of the face generally irregular, especially among the Mataco. C M Both tribes know the custom of tattooing the face, the women being al- [304] ways tattooed, the men only in some cases, and never as completely as the women.

T 142 114 I need not dwell upon the physical characteristics of the *Tobas* since they have been described by nearly all authors ever since Lozano. They certainly form an easily recognisable type of Indian, differing considerably from the rest of the Chaco tribes, one salient feature being their remarkably tall and strong build of body. The Tobas are in fact among the tallest of all South American Indians, being in this respect comparable with the ancient Patagonians, to whom they were probably related, as well as with the present Ona Indians of the mainland of Tierra del Fuego. The physical anthropology of the Tobas, just as that of the Mataco and the Choroti, has been studied scientifically by the German anthropologist Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche. [1])

[1]) Lehmann-Nitsche, R. *Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, Chorotes, Matacos y Tobas* (*Anales del Museo de La Plata*. Buenos Aires, 1908).

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 S17 Mataco S17
Toba S112
Choroti SK6

M 304 inflammation in the face the girl has to fast for some days after the operation.

M 304 751 Tattooing has a purely magical significance, as may be inferred from the fact that the Mataco and the Choroti women regard it particularly as a protection against disease. Analyzing the custom, we can distinguish at least three factors in it, all of which are associated with magical ideas: first, the scarification or bleeding itself; second, the matter (soot, ashes) rubbed into the wounds; and third, the patterns and marks incised which remain when the wounds have healed. Bleeding and scarification are common practices of purely magical significance among all Indians of South America, and as far as the Pilcomayo tribes are concerned I shall have occasion to mention this custom again in a later chapter. The very scars left after such operations are regarded as a protection against evil spirits. Further, that tattooing is done by means of ashes or soot is certainly not an accident. The use of ashes for superstitious purposes is of frequent occurrence among the Indians, the general idea being that ashes are a prophylactic against evil spirits. The custom of mixing ashes or soot with saliva is significant from the same point of view, for magical virtues are commonly ascribed to the saliva.

M [789]

M [827]

C 304 751 789 All women among the Choroti are tattooed in the same way, that is, have the same marks and patterns applied to the face, and no full-grown woman lacks this tribal characteristic. Since tattooing is regarded as a permanent protection against evil spirits and sickness, it is natural that a woman lacking it should be shunned by the men, but it is not a means of attraction or a »decoration» in the common sense of the word.

T 304 184 [362] As to the *T o b a s*, tattooing or the custom of making indelible marks on the body or the face was formerly in vogue among all Toba tribes as among all peoples of the Guaycurú-group; but the Bolivian Tobas of the present day have dropped this custom, contenting themselves with simple body painting. Tattooing among the Tobas seems to have been limited to the female sex, as indeed is the rule among the Chaco tribes. According to d'Orbigny, the Toba girls were tattooed when they attained puberty and became marriageable. Since the custom is no longer practised by the Bolivian Tobas I have not seen how it is done by them. The procedure, however, is the same as among other Chaco tribes, incisions being made in the face and ashes rubbed into the wounds. As appears from the photographs of some Toba women which Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche took in Buenos Aires in 1899 the tattooing practised by the Toba women was exceedingly elaborate and complicated.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI12
Choroti SK6

The custom of tattooing, as it was practised by the ancient Guaycurú is described by Father Dobrizhoffer in much the following way. The Abiponian women, says the Father,[1]) not content with the marks common to both sexes, have their face, breast, and arms covered with black figures of various shapes, so that they present the appearance of a Turkish carpet. As soon as a young woman is of age to be married, she is ordered to be marked according to custom. She reclines her head upon the lap of an old woman and is pricked. Thorns are used for a pencil, and ashes mixed with blood for paint. The old woman, sticking the points of the thorns deep into the flesh, describes various figures till the whole face streams with blood. The first day she is sent home with her face half pricked with the thorns, and is recalled the next and the next after that, to have the rest of her face, the breast, and the arms pricked in like manner. Meantime she is shut up for several days in her father's tent and wrapped in a hide that she may receive no injury from the cold air. Carefully abstaining from meat, fish, and some other sorts of food, she feeds upon nothing but a little fruit which grows upon brambles and conduces much towards cooling the blood.[2])

From Dobrizhoffer's account it appears that tattooing was practised by the ancient Guaycurú in the same way as by the present-day Chaco tribes.

Among the puberty customs we may also, in a certain sense, reckon the perforation of the ear-lobes for the insertion of wooden plugs or tubes. The perforation takes place even before the age of puberty, when the boy or girl is five or six years old, but the wooden ornaments are inserted later and are a sign that the boy or girl in question is regarded as a man or woman. The ear-lobe is pierced with a cactus thorn by an old woman, a grass or small wooden pin being inserted so as to prevent the wound from closing. Later on bigger and bigger pins are inserted, by which the holes are more and more extended, and lastly the plug or tube, which forms one of the most prominent ornaments of the Indians. The wooden plugs which the Tobas formerly wore in their ear-lobes, were so thick and heavy that they hung nearly down to the shoulders. In our own days they are only used by the Argentine Pilága, not by the Bolivian Tobas. It is to be observed that although the ear-lobes of both sexes are perforated, the ear-plugs or tubes are among the Choroti, Mataco, and Ashluslay worn chiefly by men, seldom by women, whereas among the Tobas *only* men wear them. These ornaments seem to have chiefly a magical significance.

[1]) Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, II. 20 sq.

[2]) This fruit is evidently the tasi fruit mentioned above, which thus is still eaten by the Toba women when they have to observe ceremonial fasting.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 S17 Mataco
Toba S112
Choroti SK6

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304

Choroti-Indians (Chaco).

Toba-Indians (Chaco).

Choroti-Indians (Chaco).

Choroti-Indians (Chaco).

Toba-Indians (Chaco).

Toba-Indians (Chaco).

Choroti-Indians (Chaco).

Choroti-Indians (Chaco).

Toba-Indians (Chaco).

Cho. Indians (Chaco).

Tattooings of the Choroti and Toba Indians.